611 into separate corporate bodies," and so the situation in the Ahaggar appears to be the reverse of that which Gibson found among the cattle-raising Herero of Ngamiland, in southwestern Africa. The Tuareg descent system is like that of the Herero, however, in that "The present function is in terms of a wide range of kin-like relationships leading to economic co-operation and to intermarriage among persons unrelated patrilineally" (although rarely "of scattered origin"). "Double descent, therefore, permits a society such as the Herero," or the Tuareg as a whole, "highly fractured into scattered and politically independent local groups, to maintain cultural uniformity and social cohesion. . . . The segmentation of matri-clans . . . appears to be no more than a mechanism for limiting the wide extension of exogamy and special privilege to persons not too distantly related; it was quite likely a concomitant of an expanding population and the scattering of the tribe."

●121 It is not unnatural to jump to the conclu-
611 sion, as Gautier (1935, pp. 33 and 109), Lhote
(1955, pp. 186–88) and others have done, that
[174] the ancestral Tuareg of ancient times were exclusively matrilineal and fully matriarchal as well, and that the patrilineal elements we find in modern Tuareg culture were acquired relatively recently through Moslem influence, but this is not necessarily so. The concept of double descent was stated for the first time by Rattray (1923, pp. 77–78) in his description of the pagan Ashanti of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), among whom "Inheritance and succession to authority follow the female line and the avunculate exists, but residence is patrilocal and the household consists of a patriarchal extended family" (Murdock, 1940, p. 557, paraphrasing Rattray), a situation which was probably characteristic of the pre-Islamic Tuareg as well. The Ashanti also have matri-sibs based on "blood" inherited in the maternal line, and patri-sibs based on "spirit" inherited through the father, and this again suggests that the basic concepts underlying the double descent systems of the Ashanti and Tuareg have much in common.

Gibson (1956, p. 137) seems inclined to think that the double descent systems of the Herero and of the southwestern Bantu in general evolved "as a whole," matrilineal and

patrilineal elements being present together in a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

Land Tenure and Tribute. The Amenokal of the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from that of the President of the United States.

The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs under him collect tribute from those whose destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By Johannes Nicolaisen

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

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/9/ Foreword

● 121 This work was begun four years ago with modest personal observations and was designed to remain at the Tamanrasset school as a record for the information of my successors.

Little by little I realized that Tamanrasset was not the Ahaggar and that many people upon arrival there had preconceived ideas about the country and its inhabitants. These ideas were often inexact and always incomplete. They were defended with the conviction of ignorance and with an often convincing energy; they spread all the more easily when cloaked in mystery and marvels -- and the country, being little known, lends itself to the marvelous. Attention must be called to an entire florid literature which paints the Ahaggar and the Tuareg with a profusion of epithets but which gives no exact information. It has had the merit, however, of getting many Frenchmen interested in this country, so attractive in so many ways.

For the past three years caravans of tourists have come regularly to visit the Ahaggar. Naturally enough the tourists ask numerous questions that the French of Tamanrasset know well and are tired of answering. I believed this work could enlighten the visitors and relieve the residents, who are weary of repeating the same answers.

This work is, of course, incomplete and certainly contains errors, but it has been prepared with all the objectivity I could muster.

/10/ I owe the geological data to M. Lelubre, and the notes on the climate to the Institut de physique du globe /Institute of Global Physics/. The different annual reports of the heads of the Ahaggar annex have furnished me with valuable information. Finally, many Tuareg friends have initiated me into their way of life.

Specialists in all the scientific disciplines come to study the Ahaggar. Their research often remains unknown to the public. I ask their indulgence for this work, which I have intended for travelers and tourists.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Preface

In this book I aim at the combination of historical and functional methods of anthropology to analyse the development of Tuareg culture with particular reference to food-producing activities. I do not, therefore, present all my Tuareg material. 121

My general anthropological outlook is doubtless largely due to my training under influential scholars of historical and functional methods. I was introduced to historical methods at the University of Copenhagen by Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, who taught with that caution and sense which must be the foundation of all anthropological science. His strict demand that anthropology must proceed on the basis of knowledge forms the most valuable part of my whole anthropological training, and for this I express to him my sincere gratitude. 114

I freely admit that I am much attached to the traditional methods of Danish anthropology. Among its scholars I am greatly indebted also to Professor C. G. Feilberg with whom I have a large field of interests in common. From the very day I began my studies in Copenhagen he offered me all possible help in discussing with me the major problems of cultural history in the Near and Middle East, and in Africa, and using much of his spare time to teach me Arabic. His detailed study on the black tent and its history forms an important cornerstone for my chapter on Tuareg tent development.

When I began my studies in Copenhagen Professor Feilberg acted as curator in the Danish National Museum where, like other students of these days, I was generously helped by the curator, Jens Yde – my closest friend. Though his main field of interest is the Indians of the Americas, he has also a surprisingly comprehensive knowledge of African cultures. I hold in very high esteem Mr. Jens Yde's scholarly realistic outlook which has been extremely stimulating to my own work. I express my gratitude also to Dr. Helge Larsen, leader of The Ethnographical Collection of The Danish National Museum, and to the curator Mr. Werner Jacobsen.

My interest in functional anthropology dates right back to my University years in Copenhagen. For though Danish anthropology is in the main historical, it was Dr. Birket-Smith's demand that students should read the important works of such functional or social anthropologists as Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Firth, Evans-Pritchard, and others. But most knowledge I have of functional anthropology came to me under a two years' study, granted me by The British Council, at The University College London with Professor C. Daryll Forde as my principal teacher. I wish to acknowledge my sincere gratitude for his unusual kindness and valuable help during my stay in London, and for his readiness to consider any problem in the light of his very deep and versatile knowledge. In this book I acknowledge his clear view of the problems connected with the development of food-producing activities advanced in 1934 when many scholars were shooting in the dark.

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[p. vi is blank]

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114 My gratitude to Dr. Phyllis Kaberry, who acted as my supervisor during my London studies, is not easily expressed in words. Nobody has taken so profound an interest in my studies as Dr. Kaberry, and if my descriptions of economics and political systems contain views of any value this is due largely to her extreme interest in my Tuareg material. Much of my later field-work among the Tuareg has also been carried out along lines suggested by Dr. Kaberry.

My stay in London was indeed a fruitful one as I was also able to attend lectures and seminars by Professor Raymond Firth and Professor I. Schapera, and to benefit from the rich knowledge of East African cultures possessed by Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford of The School of Oriental and African Studies.

121 I try to reconstruct history within the limited area of Northern Africa occupied by the Tuareg. In [127] doing so I use methodologies of different anthropological schools, and also include material available from written sources, from Tuareg traditions, and from archaeology. I feel confident that my procedure is justified, but present it to the reader's judgement with a quotation from the great anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard, who speaks about the rejection of the reconstruction of history by functional anthropologists as follows: "A case can be made out for this rejection, though not in my opinion so strong a case as is usually supposed, for all history is of necessity a reconstruction, the degree of probability attending a particular reconstruction depending on the evidence available" (Evans-Pritchard 1962, p. 21).

114 The real foundation of my book is the field-material I have been able to gather during eight journeys
122 to Northern Africa. I made the first two short trips on my own account, while later journeys were paid by Danish foundations, notably by *Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond*, *Carlsbergfondet*, *Rask-Ørsted Fondet*, *Knud Rasmussen Fondet*, and by grants from the University of Copenhagen. I have also been supported economically by The Danish National Museum and by The Museum of Prehistory in Aarhus, which museums now contain my collections of ethnographical specimens. My first Tuareg journey carried out in 1951 owes its beginning to economic and moral support from the former leader of the Aarhus Museum, Professor P. V. Glob, now Director-General of the Central Office and of the Museum of National Antiquities in Denmark. My journey to the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr 1954–55 was partly paid by The University College London on the very kind initiative of Professor Daryll Forde.

122 I express my sincere thanks to the above-mentioned institutions and their directors.

The results achieved on my journeys are due largely to friendly help rendered me by the Algerian administration and the administration of the Niger Republic in Niamey and at Agadez. In Algeria I met at an early date Mr. Pierre Bataillon and Mr. Josef Kniebihly of the Civil Administration at Djelfa. They willingly offered me their friendship and did everything to help me during the three weeks of 1947 when I suffered very greatly from malaria. On my journeys to the Ayr Tuareg I have been very kindly assisted by all governmental offices, and I thank heartily Mr. G. Feral, formerly civil governor of the Cercle d'Agadez, Mr. J. Demonceau, Mr. Claude Gardin, and Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN at Niamey.

My two Danish friends, Niels Wismer, Norwegian Vice-Consul in Algeria, and Clas Wismer have been of outstanding importance for all my journeys among North African pastoralists. They supported me morally and practically every time I came to Algiers, and they gave me their friendship which I treasure most highly.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Introduction

This book is the result of several years' study of North African pastoralism. My interest in this subject began under climatic conditions rather different from those of North Africa. In the winter 1945–46 I journied on skis through Northern Sweden, Finland, and the Norwegian Finmark. For about three months I lived among the Lapps, and, watching the techniques of reindeer-breeding, I became very interested in the problems connected with the history and evolution of stock-breeding. Shortly after my return from this trip I began to study anthropology in the University of Copenhagen under Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith, and as the main subject of the degree of M.Sc. acquired in summer 1950, I chose pastoral cultures of the Near and Middle East. I had already then made two short journeys to North Africa.

(1) In summer 1947 I spent about three months in Central Algeria to investigate Arab nomads in the steppes of the High Plateau and the adjacent parts of the Sahara. I travelled around the towns of Djelfa, Zenina, Aflu, Laghwat, and Ghardaya. I had little money at my disposal and could never afford to engage native assistants or to have a horse or a mule for riding and transportation. I walked through the barren steppes and deserts carrying as my main luggage several bottles filled with water. This journey was certainly not easy, and at its end I suffered very badly from malaria. Nevertheless, I managed to get into contact with camps of nomadic tribes such as the *Ulad Naïl*, the *Larba*, and the *Sait Otba*, and for shorter periods I followed them during their migrations towards the south. I also contacted certain semi-nomadic tribes living around Aflu in Djebel Amour of the Sahara Atlas. I did not, however, understand Arabic, and the nomads, who were rather shy and suspicious of Europeans, generally had no knowledge of French. It is evidently most difficult to collect ethnographical material under such circumstances. And if I had not received the very kind assistance of French administrators and officers, of native Arab caids, and of Arabs who had formerly served in the French Army, I should indeed have acquired nothing. The year 1947 followed upon a long period of drought which had caused severe losses to all nomads. Many of them had lost all their livestock, and famine occurred all over pastoral Algeria. The consequences of the drought when at its worst can be illustrated by the following example:— Arriving at Aflu in the Djebel Amour, I discovered a small camp the tents of which apparently belonged to a type constructionally different from those used among Central Algerian nomads. I went to the camp where I was told that it belonged to semi-nomads of the *Adjaletes* and *Ulad Sidi Brahim* tribes. They all suffered extremely from famine, and entering the first tent I found three dying children under filthy rugs. I now concentrated upon the problems connected with this dreadful disaster which seemed to prove the insufficiency of pure pastoralism in the barren countries of North Africa.

[p. 1]

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(2) In winter 1950 I visited several *Kabyle* villages in the Djurdjura Mountains, and stayed for some time in the regions which I had already visited in summer 1947. I wanted to gather supplementary material on the consequences of the drought period, and also to acquire some personal knowledge of winter life among nomads. – Part of the material collected 1947 and 1950 has been published (Nicolaisen 1950).

On later journeys to Northern Africa I have studied culture and society of pastoral Tuareg:—

(3) In summer 1951 I spent about five months (May September) in Ahaggar. I arrived at Algiers from where I travelled southwards by car to make short stops at Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea, and In Salah. Reaching Tamanṛaset in Ahaggar in the month of May, I hired an interpreter to visit many Tuareg camps of the important vassal tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Ṛali* on journeys accomplished by means of camels and donkeys. Part of the time I also lived at Tamanṛaset where I was visited daily by Tuareg informants. Apart from Tamanṛaset I visited the following centres of cultivation:— Tit, Utul, Terhenanet, and I-n-dalaǧ. My investigations concentrated upon economics and material culture in relation to environment, and about 300 ethnographic specimens were collected. I left Tamanṛaset for Algiers by plane via Ġanet (Djanet), Ṛat (Ghat), Ft. Flatters, and Wargla.

(4) I returned to North Africa in summer 1952. The length of this visit was about three months and a half. From Algiers I went by train and trucks to Arris in the Aurès Mountains where I stayed for about five weeks among the semi-nomadic Berber-speaking *Chawiya*. I rode through the valleys of this montain massif on a mule, and the journey terminated with my arrival at the oasis of Biskra. From Biskra I went by train to Tuggurt from where I continued by truck to Wargla. I left this oasis by a French military plane for Ġanet in Tasilé-n-Ajjer via El Golea, In Salah, and Tamanṛaset. At Ġanet I hired camels and a native guide and went westwards via Ft. Ghardei to Afara, where I had the opportunity to meet the supreme chief of the *Kel Ajjer* living in French territory. From Afara I went up the valley named Aharhar and across the Tasilé Mountains to Élézi (Ft. Polignac). After a short rest with the French garrison I went northwards to the region of Hassi Issendjel, where I visited various Tuareg camps, notably of the tribes *Kel Terurit* and *Ururen*. I stayed in Tasilé-n-Ajjer for six weeks, and returned by plane to Algiers via Ft. Flatters and Wargla. From Algiers I made a very short trip to the *Kabyle* of the Djurdjura Mountains. From the Kabyle, the Chawiya, and the Ajjer Tuareg an ethnographical collection of about 70 specimens was made.

(5) From autumn 1952 until summer 1954 I studied social anthropology in University College London under Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry. My studies in London were interrupted in summer 1953 when I went to North Africa to stay for three months among the Ahaggar Tuareg. I lived most of the time in camps of the vassal tribes *Dag Ṛali* and *Aǧuh-en-tehlé*, but I also visited the *Iklan-en-tawsit* and camps of certain *Isekkemaren* tribes, notably the *Iheyawen-Hada*. I also paid a visit to camps of the *Kel Ṛezzi* Tuareg (*Ahl Azzi*) who descend patrilineally from Arabs, and I spent several days in the camp of the *Amenukal*, that is the supreme chief elected from the dominant noble tribe of *Kel Ṛela*. Among agricultural settlements visited the most important were Abalessa and Silet – apart from Tamanṛaset. My studies concentrated upon social and political organization, but I made an ethnographical collection of more than a hundred specimens. The journey from Algiers to Tamanṛaset and return was made by plane via El Golea and In Salah.

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(6) My sixth journey to North Africa was undertaken 1954–55 and comprised about 14 months' field-work among Northern and Southern Tuareg. I left Algiers by car via Djelfa, Laghwat, Ghardaya, El Golea to In Salah at the beginning of the autumn 1954. At In Salah I bought four camels and hired an Arab guide of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe. After a short visit to his camp we went southwards to the region of the Ahnet Massif where I visited camps of *Kel-ahem-mellen* (a small noble tribe), *Kel-Immidir* (*Iseḳkemaren*), *Ayt Lowayen* of the *Kel Turha* section, *Kel Rezzi*, and notably the *Kel Ahnet*. Two small camps visited claimed to belong to the noble *Taytoḳ* tribe, but they had no matrilineal relationship to that tribe which is now found in the Tamesna plains west of Ayr. I left Ahnet for Tamanrasset about the middle of December, and in the following months I travelled alone with my camels in Ahaggar as I now knew Tuareg language sufficiently to dispense with an interpreter. Until the beginning of April 1955 I lived in camps of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes, and passed some days in the *Amenukal*'s camp. I also had a house at Tamanrasset where I could work more peacefully with problems connected with kinship, land tenure, and political organization. In this work I was mainly assisted by two older Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribes. Apart from Tamanrasset I visited the following cultivation centres:— Utul, Tahart, Ti-n-amenser, Ennedid, Iglen, Abalessa, Amsel, and Tarhawhawt. – On the 3rd of April, 1955, I left Ahaggar for Ayr together with two Ayr Tuareg who were returning to their camps at Northern Ayr after a caravan journey to Tamanrasset. We travelled south-eastwards via the small cultivation centre Tagnut and thence into the very barren country separating Ahaggar from Ayr. We refilled our six skin-bags with water at the wells of I-n-abeggi and I-n-azawa, and had no water again until we arrived at a fairly large and permanent waterhole (*agelmam*) known as Tamengoyt, situated on the northern outskirts of the Ayr Massif. Close to this place we met the first Tuareg camps of the *Kel Tédalé* who dominate the northern parts of Ayr. The following days we saw several camps of these Tuareg. At last we arrived at the camp of one of my companions who belonged to the *Iḳḳoheren* tribe though his family was very mixed with *Kel Tédalé*. This camp was situated in the Azel valley, where we stayed for about ten days to regain full strength. Thereupon we continued to *Iferwan* which constitutes the northernmost village of the Ayr Massif. I lived in this village for about three weeks and then I continued towards Agadez together with a Tuareg of the *Kel Akerra* tribe. We visited camps of various tribes on our journey southwards (*Kel Rarus*, *Iforas*). The journey was a difficult one as two of my camels were worn out. We left them in a camp of *Ikoffejiten* Tuareg. This was situated at the Afarak valley from where we continued to Agadez via the small agricultural settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses. From Agadez I went by truck down to Zinder, but returned quickly to make a more complete investigation of the Ayr Tuareg. The situation was now very difficult as my two camels left at Afarak died and I was too short of money to buy a new animal. My financial problems were rather acute and were solved only by the very kind and resolute help rendered me by Professor Daryll Forde of University College London. I was thus able to continue my studies for another six months. I hired a house in Agadez where I could work peacefully, and bought a fine riding camel in order to be able to visit Tuareg camps in the vicinity. The most extensive journey made went to the village of Awderas, north-east of Agadez and close to the Begzen Mountains. On this journey I revisited the small settlements of Tabeydag, Azzal, and Alarses, and visited pastoral camps of the *Iforas*, the *Ikoffejiten*, the *Kel Tamat*, the *Igen-*

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101 114 122 *déynen*, and the *Imezzureg*. If not staying in Agadez I lived mainly in camps of the latter tribe, and spent a considerable time in one particular camp. My studies were concluded with a visit to the camp of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief north of Aderbissinat. I remained in his camp for about a fortnight and also visited camps of the *Echchikhen* Tuareg and the Fulani who are numerous in this area. I left Agadez by air via Tawa, Niamey, Bamako to Dakar whence I returned to Denmark by ship, and a [126] few days later returned to London to resume my studies at University College. On this comparatively long journey among the Tuareg I did not make any large ethnographical collection, as I could not afford to buy much, but brought back with me about fifty different specimens plus a few archaeological objects.

(7) In 1956 I returned to Copenhagen from London. I was then planning a new journey to North Africa, but for many reasons this had to be postponed until the autumn 1959. The journey was a very short one of only two months. I left Copenhagen by air on the second of August and arrived at Niamey the next day. After a week's stay at Niamey I continued by plane via Maradi and Zinder to Agadez. The day after my arrival at this ancient capital of the Ayr people I was able to join a car expedition organized by Mr. J. Demonceau, who was studying locust migrations, and by Mr. Claude Gardin of the "Peloton Nomade", who was looking for Tuareg camel thieves. We went first to Ingal and from there continued northwards to the village and salt pits of *Tegidda-n-tésemt*. We went further north but stopped at the well of I-n-abanferit, then going eastwards across the Talak Plains to the western edge of the Ayr Massif. Our journey back to Agadez followed the road through the mountains. Though this journey did not take much more than a week it was of great importance to my studies, as I had for the first time an occasion to see the extensive plains west of Ayr – a region of great economic value to many tribes not only of Ayr Tuareg but also to certain tribes of Ahaggar. On the journey I visited camps of *Idaléyen*, *Kel Tédalé* and *Ifoqas* (Ayr Tuareg), of [121] *Iregenaten* (Ahaggar Tuareg), and of *Tégehé-n-Efis* (originally Ahaggar Tuareg). In all these camps I collected much valuable material concerning tent structures and economics. – Shortly after my [123] return to Agadez from this brief journey I met a Tuareg of the *Imezzureg* tribe. I knew him well from my visit to Ayr in 1955, and he was in fact my classificatory elder brother. I went immediately to his camp situated not very far from Agadez, and I lived with him and his kinsmen for the rest of the time left at my disposal. During this period the camp was frequently broken and taken to the best possible pastures of annual plants. I left the camp only once for a week when my brother and I made a camel journey westwards to Tegidda-n-tagayt and Tegidda-n-edrar. In these regions we visited several Ayr tribes which I had never been among previously (e.g. *Imezzuren*, *Ijakarkaren*), and we were lucky enough to meet during this journey the supreme chief of the noble *Kel Azel* tribe. We also visited the camp of the drum-chief of the *Kel Gerres* Tuareg, who move northwards to Ayr at the end of the rains. I finished my field-work about the sixth of October and was back in Copenhagen [126] by plane via Zinder, Maradi, and Niamey on the tenth. I made a very small ethnographical collection [121] comprising about twenty specimens. My investigations were not concentrated on any particular subject. I acquired valuable supplementary material on such different matters as traditional political systems, kinship, ecology, and technology.

(8) Participating in The First International Congress of Africanists at Accra I had the opportunity

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to visit Niamey for one week at the beginning of December 1962. Here I studied the very valuable ethnographical collections of The IFAN Museum, and I spent two days in camps of *Bella* and Tuareg of the *Western Iwllemmeden* east and north-east of Ayoru on the Niger. Of particular value was my visit to a camp of the dominant noble tribe, *Kel Tahabanat*. Its supreme chief *Amder* and his family gave me important information on Tuareg culture in this little known area. My visit to Tuareg and *Bella* near Ayoru was made possible by the very kind assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Bernus of the IFAN. They put a truck with its driver at my free disposition.

Altogether I have spent almost three years among North African pastoralists – mainly among the Tuareg. This length of time is not so impressive as it may seem, for my investigations have been carried out over an extensive territory ranching from the Mediterranean to the outskirts of the Sudanese savannah. A detailed study of Tuareg ecology and culture necessitates a detailed knowledge of change and variation in environment within and without the country in which the Tuareg live.

The literature which deals with the Tuareg is very comprehensive as can be seen from the bibliography at the end of this book, but most publications are of very little value and many of them are almost inaccessible.

The Tuareg are first mentioned in literature by Arab authors of the Middle Ages, but most of these historians and geographers did not know the Tuareg country and even the few of them who travelled in the Sahara tell us very little about the Tuareg in early Arabic texts generally called *Muletthemin*, that is "the veiled ones". The most important Arab authors who mention the Tuareg are Ibn Hawkal (10th century), El-Bekri (11th century), Edrisi (12th century), Ibn Batutah (14th century), and Ibn Khaldun (14th century). Ibn Khaldun gives the most intimate description of the Tuareg though apparently he never met them. But they played a very important part in his attempt to recount the ancient history of the North African Berbers. After Ibn Khaldun came Leo Africanus (16th century) who published information gathered by himself on journeys in the Sahara. His book was first published in Italian. There are certain later Arab authors who have contributed to our knowledge of North African cultures and the Tuareg, e.g., Es-Sadi who lived in the 17th century. We must also mention in this connection that there are other valuable Arabic manuscripts, notably those generally referred to as the Agadez Chronicle, which contain much historical material on the Ayr Tuareg (cf. Palmer 1910; 1928; 1936; Urvoy 1934).

The first modern description of the Tuareg was given by Hornemann who travelled from Cairo to Murzuk in 1798. Throughout the 19th century many European travellers contributed to our knowledge of the Tuareg, and it is very important now to have their accounts which derive from a time when traditional political systems were unaffected by European colonization. Among these travellers we should mention such outstanding names as Lyon, Caillié, Denham & Clapperton & Oudney, Richardson, Barth, Duveyrier, Rohlfs, Hourst, Foureau, and von Bary. Lyon gives a very valuable description of the Tuareg who live around Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but by far the most important among these authorities are Barth, who wrote about the *Kel Ajjer*, the *Kel Ayr*, and the *Iwllemmeden*, and Duveyrier, who published an excellent monograph on the Northern Tuareg with particular reference to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. At the beginning of the present century military posts were established in the Sahara, and literature about the Tuareg became more abundant. Thus Benhazera wrote a good book on

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Rationality and Beliefs in Stock-Breeding

Literature on so-called primitive pastoralists often states that these peoples are irrational stock-breeders. It is said that they attach an enormous value to big flocks and herds which overgraze and deteriorate pastures, that they take too little interest in selective breeding with the result that they do not castrate their superfluous male animals or perform this operation too late, and that they take an overwhelmingly large interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals.

Tuareg stock-breeding is essentially rational and is well adopted to environment. This viewpoint can be proved by reference to the description of stock-breeding given in the preceding chapter. I have here described in some detail the system used in the mating of sheep and goats, and how mating is regulated in accordance with the development of pastures. From this description of mating regulations it also appears that the Tuareg are not only interested in having large flocks. They also want flocks of healthy and strong animals, and they generally kill or sell domestic animals before they grow barren. It should be added that the Tuareg very well know that there is a limit to the number of animals (goats and sheep), which can be herded in one and the same place. The Tuareg certainly want to be rich and to possess large flocks and herds, but they are also aware that there is a limit to size. Regarding Tuareg interest in the aesthetic qualities of their animals, I have mentioned that it is mainly focused on camels, and I have described in some detail the value attached to colours. It is clear, however, that the Tuareg interest in their animals is not confined to the aesthetic. The true value of any domestic animal is always judged rationally, and takes into consideration such qualities as age, build, stature, and the like. The Tuareg also know that qualities of domestic animals are inherited and are aware that it is necessary to have good breeding animals. Cauvet states that pastoral Tuareg attach very little importance to the quality of she-camels used in breeding, while greatly interested in the build and stature of bull-camels. In this, he says, the Tuareg differ from Arab pastoralists, who think that camel calves inherit their qualities mainly from the mother-camels (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 348). This statement, I believe, is not quite correctly expressed, for the Tuareg I have asked about this have stated that a camel-calf inherits qualities from both parents and they have also stressed the necessity of having good she-camels to produce the best possible calves. But most Tuareg have so few camels that they are forced to mate all their she-camels. They cannot afford to select certain she-camels for breeding, while it is easy for them to select one or two good bull-camels. All Tuareg I have asked admitted the great value of selective breeding, and said that superflous rams and he-goats should be castrated or

Hunting

For the pastoral Tuareg hunting is not an important occupation, and nowadays it is practised mainly by those few Tuareg who possess rifles or guns. Traditional hunting methods are thus of far less consequence than in the past, but some of them are very interesting and most significant for a historical analysis of Tuareg culture.

AHAGGAR

Northern Tuareg areas are not very rich in game. In Ahaggar the main types of game are the gazelle (*ahenkof*, fem. *tahenkot*; *Gazella dorcas* sp.) and the barbary sheep (*udad; Ammotragus lervia*). The big gazelle (*énir; Gazella dama permista*) and the addax antelope (*amelhul; Addax nasomaculatus*) are very rare; they are occasionally seen in the plains outside of the mountains. The ostrich (*auhél*; *Struthio camelus*) was very common in the past, but is now exterminated.

The small gazelle is rare and shy within the Ahaggar Massif, while fairly abundant and comparatively easy to hunt with a rifle in the northernmost massifs and their surrounding plains. Of seven camps visited in Ahnet 1954, gazelle hunting was engaged in by the members of two households, and I estimate that they killed one or two gazelles every week. In most camps of the Northern Tuareg there are no true gazelle hunters, and when a rare gazelle is killed its meat is easily eaten in one day by the members of a single household – in addition to three or four pounds of wheat-bread or millet-porridge. Gazelle skin is of little practical value to Tuareg craft. It is not generally used for the manufacture of important domestic articles such as water bags and containers for milk and butter, but it is suitable and much esteemed for certain types of decorated leather work and for fine leather cords, e.g., necklaces for amulet cases, reins for riding camels.

Barbary sheep are extremely shy, and they live mainly in inaccessible mountains. They are still fairly common in certain isolated parts of the mountains, but they were more numerous in the past when hunting was practised without rifles.

The Tuareg estimate that the amount of meat obtained from two gazelles corresponds to the meat of one grown goat, while a big barbary sheep provides as much meat as that of four goats. Meat of barbary sheep is better suited for drying than meat of other game animals, and the thick hide of these animals is valuable for the manufacture of tents and for large bags used for the conservation on journeys of dates, grain, flour, and the like. The horns of barbary sheep are used as butter containers (Fig. 165), and some Tuareg add the powder of crushed horns to butter before heating it (cf. p. 222). Barbary sheep are of greater economic value to the Ahaggar Tuareg than other types of game, and

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Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is no doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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/2/ viewpoints in a particular book on the subject (Graebner 1911). A later contribution was made by Wilhelm Schmidt who classified all cultures into world-embracing culture complexes based mainly upon social characteristics, therein differing from the culture complexes established by Graebner (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 75 ff.; Schmidt 1937).

The establishment of world wide culture complexes has been of some value for our knowledge of cultural evolution in Africa. But scholars who have adhered to this particular method of historical reconstruction have committed many fallacies, not only because they recognized no other scientific approach but the study of distributions, but also because they were so convinced about a relationship between all cultures that they did not take the trouble to produce evidence of their theories about historical connections.

The methodological approach concerned with the establishment of culture complexes within the African continent was also founded by Leo Frobenius. In 1904, when Graebner and Ankermann established their culture complexes for Oceania and Afrika, Frobenius claimed that he now dissociated himself from this method which he had himself created. From then on he was concerned almost exclusively with the study of African cultures. He firmly believed that most African cultures had been introduced from outside, and he tried to show how these foreign influences had penetrated into the continent. He did this not only by means of distributional studies, but tried to demonstrate how certain trait-distributions should be explained in the light of archaeological finds in African coastal regions. By this method Frobenius established certain culture complexes to which he added two particular cultures which could not be explained in this way. The cultures that could not be explained in the light of archaeological finds he termed "Urkulturen", and he named them the "Ethiopian Culture" and the "Hamitic Culture". Frobenius has written on African cultural developments in [1/3] numerous books and articles. His method and his culture complexes are best described in "Atlas Africanus" I–VIII, 1920 ff., and in "Kulturgeschichte Afrikas", 1933. His culture complexes are the following:—

(1) *The Ethiopian Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") which constitutes the foundation of many cultures of tropical Africa.

(2) *The Hamitic Culture.* A primitive culture ("Urkultur") mainly represented among pastoralists of North and East Africa.

(3) *The Atlantic Culture.* A high culture which came from the Mediterranean, through the Straits of Gibraltar, along the North-west African coast, and settled around the Guinea Coast where there are numerous ruins and archaeological finds.

(4) *The Syrtic Culture.* A high culture which influenced a large part of North-western Africa. It came from the Mediterranean and reached as far south as Senegal – Niger – Tchad – Benue. The Garamantes played an important part in the spreading of this culture.

(5) *The North Erytrean Culture.* A high culture connected with certain North-east African states, notably Axum and the old Kuchitic states in and around Ethiopia. From these regions the culture spread over the Sudan and adjacent regions. But the traits of this culture complex are not limited to any definite period.

(6) *The South Erytrean Culture.* A high culture which like its northern counterpart came from the

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Near East. It was brought across the sea and along the East African coast by a foreign people who settled in the region between Limpopo and Zambezi. It is connected with ancient ruins, notably with those of Zimbabwe. /21

There are many extremely weak points in these culture complexes.

The so-called Ethiopian and Hamitic cultures are nothing more than accidental groupings of cultural traits, and the Atlantic culture seems to be a compilation of traits, which did not come to West Africa from the sea in the way Frobenius thought. When all this has been said, it must be admitted that he started a valuable work. For his *Syrtic Culture* and the two *Erytrean Cultures* were founded upon a realistic methodological principle entirely new to African historical anthropology, namely the combination of distributional studies with archaeology.

Frobenius had many followers, who have contributed much to advance his theories (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 7 f.), but since Frobenius no scholar has been of such importance for the establishment of African culture complexes as has Hermann Baumann. He acknowledges the value of some cultures established by Frobenius, and in an early paper he states that the culture complexes of Africa should be elucidated mainly by studies within the continent. Culture complexes should be intra-continental, and not inter-continental (Baumann 1934). As early as 1927 Baumann outlined some of his culture complexes in a study of the Azande and the Mangbetu (Baumann 1927), and the year after he published an important paper on the division of work in African hoe culture, in which paper he stressed the importance of social organization for the establishment of culture complexes (Baumann 1928). Baumann has published other significant papers on various aspects of African cultures, but his main work is "Völkerkunde von Afrika" (1940), in which book he has outlined his view on the historical development of African cultures. They are divided into the following culture complexes:— [13]

(1) *The Pygmy Culture*. This is limited to the parts of Central Africa, where the Pygmies live. The culture is founded upon hunting and collecting and is very poor in material objects.

(2) *The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture*. A primitive hunting culture which is represented mainly among the Bushmen though it can be traced over a large part of the African continent in the steppe and savannah regions.

The so-called "Mahalbi" Culture established by Frobenius at the outskirts of the Sahara (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 70 ff.) is incorporated in the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, which is not limited to any particular ethnic group. It is found among khoisanid and negroid peoples alike, and in part it is represented among ethiopid and even europid tribal groups. However, it is considered likely that this particular culture in its origin was linked with people of the khoisanid race, which seems to have existed over most of the African continent in the remote past. This hunting culture seems to have been of great importance to people of the Sahara which appears from rock engravings representing hunting scenes, and traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture were found among the Ancient Libyans of Northern Africa. The Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture, and also the khoisanid race, seem to be connected prehistorically with the Wilton- and Smithfield Cultures of South Africa, the Elementeita Culture in Kenya, the Capsian Culture of North Africa, and perhaps also with the well-known rock engravings of Eastern Spain. Characteristic of the Eurafrican hunting culture are particular hunting rites and hunting methods (hunting in disguise by means of animal masks, poi-

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● /2/ soning of waterplaces, throwing clubs and throwing sticks, the spiked wheel-trap, poisoned arrows placed in the nests of ostriches, hunting by wounding the Achilles tendon of game animals, the running down of gazelle by hunters). Among the weapons of this culture should also be mentioned the sling, and particular types of bows and arrows. The digging stick provided with a heavy stone is typical of the culture to which collecting is of prominent importance. The penis case has a certain connection with hunting and is also considered part of the Eurafrican culture in which women wear leather skirts and a leather garment over the upper part of the body much like women among then Eastern Hamites. The typical dwelling is the beehive hut, or a windscreen. Social organization is characterized by the hunting groups within which the individual family has a rather independent position. Religion and spiritual culture comprise the belief in a supreme being, primitive toteism, animatism, and sun worship.

(3) *The East Hamitic Culture*. This pastoral culture is best preserved in the regions of the East African Horn and in South-West Africa. The complex is mainly attached to cattle of the long-horned type. The fat-tailed sheep is also esteemed while the agricultural animals, goats and fowls, are lacking. A particular type of greyhound apparently also belongs to this culture complex, which has many peculiar traits attached to stock-breeding:— Cattle are killed only at feasts and ceremonies, the urine and the excrements of cattle are considered clean, cattle urine employed for cleaning milking bowls and the like, milking bowls are predominantly made of wood while bowls made from clay or metal must not be used, milk and water must not be mixed, women must not engage in the tasks of cattle-breeding, there is a particular connection between chiefs and cattle, there is a myth stating that people and cattle have a common origin, milk should be tasted by somebody before it is drunk by the milker, butter is churned in calabashes or skin-bags to be used exclusively for ointment, the constant fire lit to protect cattle against insects which are considered disease-carrying demons, the scape-goat, a peculiar pastoral type of totemism (cattle totems and split totems), ear-marks, decorations burned into the animals' hide with a red-hot iron, horn deformations, blood-drinking and eating of raw meat, the dummy calf, blowing into the cow's vulva to promote milk yielding, divination by means of entrails, the use of coiled basketry, the use of subterranean storerooms, and the fat woman as an ideal of beauty. The East Hamitic Culture is further characterized by beehive huts covered with boughs, mats, dung, or skin; by the leather mantle which is frequently tied up over one of the shoulders, and the leather loin-cloth worn by men while woman's dress consists of a leather skirt frequently ornamented with beads. The typical weapons are the spear and the shield made of hide. There is a strict war-organization attached to this culture in which metal techniques are traditionally unknown, and blacksmiths are looked down upon and not recognized as forming part of society. The important social characteristic is the inheritance right of eldest son within the patrilineal group. As to religion, the culture complex possess many characteristics of hunting cultures.

(4) *The West African Culture*. This falls into two parts, namely the northern *Rain Forest Culture*, and the southern *Matrilineal Bantu Culture*.

(5) *The Old Sudanese Culture*. A patrilineal farming culture mainly preserved in isolated parts of the Sudan. The men engage in the heavy agricultural work connected with shifting cultivation in the Savannah country. The important agricultural implement is the slot-shafted hoe, that is the hoe hafted

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by means of a tongue inserted in the wooden handle, but the digging stick is also known. The typical type of dwelling is the cylindrical house with a conical roof. /21/

(6) *The Young Sudanese Culture*. This is largely identical with the *North Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius. Its main area of distribution lies between the Senegal River and the Red Sea around Ethiopia, and its culture elements derive from Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and above all from India. It is attached to state organization characterized by divine kingship, and many traits of highly-developed techniques in crafts are particularly attached to the royal court. It is a most refined culture in comparison with the above mentioned *Old Sudanese Culture*. Its original foundation was perhaps a developed agricultural technique based on artificial irrigation, manuring, and the terracing of fields. Certain agricultural implements are also characteristic of this culture complex, notably the socket-shafted hoe and other implements hafted in this way, the sickle, particular knives for rice-harvesting, and crescent-shaped spades. Megalithic monuments are perhaps also peculiar to this culture.

(7) *The Rhodesian Culture*. This is largely identical with the *South Erytrean Culture* established by Frobenius, and has many traits in common with the *Young Sudanese Culture*, notably state organizations characterized by divine kingship. Many other cultural traits are common to the two cultures.

(8) *The Old Mediterranean Culture*. This is largely identical with the *Syrtic Culture* established by Frobenius. It is a high culture, which has been introduced from the Mediterranean into a large part of the Western Sudan between the Senegal River and Lake Tchad. It is less prominent in other parts of the Sudan. It is characterized by the mother-right of the Berbers, and this social trait derives from the old Aegean-Iberian culture of the Mediterranean. Mother-right was introduced into the Western Sudan together with the invasion of fair-skinned Berbers whose racial traits can be traced in numerous chief-families of West Sudanese states. The ancient mother-right of the Berbers even reached the Gold and Ivory Coasts. In the north it disappeared in most places, but was conserved among the isolated Tuareg and the Beja. Many developed cultural traits are considered part of the Old Mediterranean Culture, but as this culture in the Sudan has mixed with the Young Sudanese Culture it is often difficult to determine whether cultural elements of the Western Sudan have been introduced from the east or from the north. An important characteristic of the Old Mediterranean culture is clay or mud architecture, including huts and store rooms of cylindrical form with a conical roof, dome-shaped dwellings, drums made from clay, large earthen jars for storing cereals, painted pottery, refined leather work, stone-carving, the manufacture of beads and glass, etc.

Many scholars other than those mentioned have contributed to our understanding of African cultural development, but none has made so systematic a study as has Baumann. More recently, however, a most important work on the distribution of African cultural traits has been published by Sture Lagercrantz. This deepens our knowledge of African cultures by its distribution maps, founded upon an enormous knowledge of African literature (Lagercrantz 1950). Lagercrantz follows Baumann in the establishment of culture complexes, stating that the results achieved by Baumann are likely on the whole to prove of permanent value (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 8). In what follows I attempt to elucidate certain aspects of Tuareg culture in the light of Baumann's African culture complexes. [13]

There can be no doubt that in the past an *Old Mediterranean Culture*, or a *Syrtic Culture*, has greatly influenced North Africa with related regions. I think that the influence from such a high culture in /174

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The cotton shirt of poncho cut (p. 289 ff.) is common to all Tuareg, and is widely found in North-western Africa among the Moors as well as among the Hausa and other sedentary peoples of the Sudan where I have seen it as far south as Accra and Abidjan. It is unknown to Berber-speaking tribes of the Atlas, though an almost identical type of garment is found among the Berbers of Siwa (Cline 1936, p. 31). Poncho shirts very akin to those used among the Tuareg are also found in the Fezzan, Tibesti, Borku, and Bornu (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 97, 189, 455 f., 646; Cline 1950, p. 40; Le Coeur 1950, p. 126, pl. XXVIII & XXXIV). It is possibly also this shirt to which Lebeuf refers from the Teda-Daza, from Kanem and Ouadai, and from the Arabs of the Lake Tchad region (Lebeuf 1959, p. 24, 44, 87, 97).

The large poncho-shirts used in North-western Africa were no doubt introduced before Islam, and it is possible that we should class them with the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture* comprising refined cultural traits derived from the Near East including Egypt, and from India, for we note that the same type of garment was used among the Iranians of antiquity (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 279). To the same culture complex should perhaps also be referred Tuareg sandals of the *takalmi* type which are largely used in the Sudan, and were known also in Ancient Egypt (cf. Chasseloup-Laubat 1938, p. 42, pl. XXIXa–c & Lhote 1950d, p. 528 ff.). The same is perhaps also true of sandals plaited of dum palm leaves and structurally related to *takalmi* sandals (cf. Zeltner 1914a, p. 367).

If we follow Baumann's definition of the Young Sudanese Culture there are other traits than those alluded to above which should perhaps be classified with this complex. Thus we note in particular socket-shafted implements and weapons, notably spears and adzes, while the normal axe, as well as the hoe among the sedentary *Kel Ayr*, are slot-shafted. The latter principle is considered a part of the so-called *Old Sudanese Culture* characterized by shifting cultivation with little developed agricultural techniques in contrast to the Young Sudanese Culture, which in its origin was perhaps connected with irrigation, terrace-building, and fertilizing. It is probable that we have conserved in Ayr certain traits of an old negroid culture based on shifting cultivation, and in this connection we note that the Ayr farmers do not harvest by means of the sickle, which by Baumann is also considered a Young Sudanese trait.

So far we have dealt with African Culture complexes that apparently have had very little importance for the creation of Tuareg culture as we know it to-day. More important are the last two complexes to be mentioned, namely the East Hamitic Culture and the Eurafrican Steppe-hunting Culture. The Hamitic Culture established by Frobenius seems to contain traits from both complexes, and it is very possible that Frobenius in working out his Hamitic Culture was much influenced by Seligman's Old Hamitic Culture which has been recognized by many scholars (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 6 f.).

Baumann's *East Hamitic Culture* constitutes the most reasonable culture complex among all cultural groupings, for it contains traits which are largely connected with cattle and which seem to have very little meaning without. The East Hamitic Culture in many ways seem to constitute a true unit of traits that have penetrated into Africa with cattle. However, we must emphasize that it is not a functional unit in the sense that all these traits are highly necessary for cattle-breeding, and it is very evident that all traits are not found where the so-called East Hamitic Culture occurs. Baumann finds the East Hamitic Culture particularly well preserved in the Beja group, among the Danakil,

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from an ancient cow-breeding culture. This we know formerly existed in the Sahara where cows are very frequently represented in rock-engravings. There can be little doubt that hump-less long-horned cattle of the *Bos primigenius* type, which are still found in isolated parts of the Western Sudan, once existed in the Sahara, and it is extremely remarkable that Huard has been able to show that horn-deformation like those practised in Ancient Egypt on *Bos primigenius* cattle, and those still practised on oxen among the Nilotes, can be proved to have been in use over most of the Sahara, where such deformation is frequently seen on ancient cattle-pictures. It may be that one or two of his examples are doubtful, but on the whole they seem to be reliably interpreted, and I think with Huard that we should take the rock-engravings of the Sahara as a proof that the so-called East Hamitic Culture was formerly represented all over North-west Africa (cf. Huard 1953, p. 75–106, and notably 1959, p. 109–131). Long-horned cattle seem to have been found among the Ancient Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 96), who according to Baumann also possessed traits in common with the East Hamitic Culture. We do not know when the nomads of the Sahara stopped to breed long-horned and humpless cattle, but the Ayr Tuareg, who are now zebu-breeders, claim that cattle-breeding is not an ancient occupation among them. They seem to hold that cattle were rare in Ayr even as recently as up to the beginning of the French penetration, and they claim that they know less about cattle than about other domestic animals. They also have rather few cattle terms compared with the extensive glossary for other domestic animals. It might be contended that the milking customs of modern Tuareg are derived from an ancient cattle-breeding culture of the Sahara but in general this is not the whole explanation, for it seems as if some of these traits have been introduced or re-introduced into the Sahara with camel-breeding, which originated in the same area from which the East Hamitic Complex must have come to Africa.

Our last problem is to consider Tuareg culture in the light of the so-called *Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture*, which Baumann believes to have existed over most of Africa. He finds remains of this culture among the Ancient Libyans, and he thinks that certain rock-engravings of the Sahara prove that this primitive hunting culture was once widely distributed in the desert, while at present the steppe-hunting culture is mainly preserved on the outskirts of the Sahara. It seems as if the Tuareg have very few elements which can be placed within this culture. They lack the bow and arrow and also the true throwing stick or throwing club, they do not use parts of animals for disguise, and they do not poison water places to kill game, though in pre-European times they killed their enemies in this way. They know the spiked wheel-trap stated by Baumann to be an Eurafrican trait, but I believe with Lindblom and Lagercrantz that this hunting device is not so ancient (Lindblom 1928; Lagercrantz 1950, p. 98), and it can be mentioned in this connection that the torsion traps are also comparatively late arrivals (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 103 ff.; Lips 1927, p. 271). This may be the case also with dog hunting as practised to-day, for greyhound-like dogs are probably not the oldest hunting dog. Hunting barbary sheep with dogs and spears is depicted in a rock-engraving near Rat (cf. Frobenius 1933, pl. 28a), but, as generally the case with rock-engravings, it cannot be dated. A type of greyhound was known already in prehistoric Egypt (cf. Adametz 1920, p. 86 ff.; Antonius 1922, p. 124 ff.) which may perhaps also be considered the cradle of Tuareg greyhound-like dogs, while the true greyhound, or *sluki*, was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs. The use of stalking animals is most

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with hot stones, which is still used for certain dishes, constituted in the past a very important method of food preparation being used for milk, meat, and for vegetable dishes alike. Also an ancient implement is perhaps the quern-stone, though it has to be admitted that it occurs throughout the world in many farming cultures. Tuareg dishes known as *tébik* and *téderka* (cf. p. 175 ff., 251) should doubtless be considered very ancient, and this is probably also the case with Tuareg method of bread-baking which is different from the methods used among most North African farmers. Bread is frequently baked from wild seeds, and it is not made from true dough but rather from a kind of gruel to be baked according to the *abatul*-method.

The existence among the Tuareg of leather garments of simple poncho type is of particular interest, the more so as such shirts are extremely rare in Africa. In literature they seem to be mentioned only in the case of the Tebu, and there is a well-preserved shirt from this people in the Museé de l'homme (Paris). It is made of the skin of barbary sheep, and is sewn together at both sides, but the upper parts of the sides are left open to form very large and wide arm-holes; patches of leather with ornamented fringes are sewn to the shoulders to form a kind of open sleeves. This skin shirt, which resembles that of the Ahaggar Tuareg, is said to be worn by blacksmiths (Musée de l'homme, no 35.50.107). Le Coeur mentions leather shirts from the Tebu stating that they are but little used nowadays:— "Seuls les hommes de condition servile le portent encore". He provides a photograph showing a Tebu blacksmith in a long skin shirt which has a kind of open sleeves attached to the shoulders (Le Coeur 1950, p. 100, pl. XXXIII Fig. 124). Leather shirts are mentioned from Central Tibesti by Fuchs, who depicts a shirt of this kind which is now in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Vienna (Fuchs 1961, p. 23 f., Fig. 7 p. 24). Lebeuf says that among the Tebu, skin shirts are worn mainly by the Aza who make them from antelope skin, but they are also found among the Danoa of Kanem. These two peoples, the Aza and the Danoa, are related to each other. They never live in villages, but are roaming hunters who use the bow and arrow but mainly hunt by driving animals against cords. The Aza form small sections and are attached to the nomadic Daza as a kind of vassals (cf. Lebeuf 1959, p. 9, 16, 24, 39, 44). The origin of these peoples is uncertain. They seem to constitute remnants of an ancient hunting population.

Tuareg garments of leather or skin are in general of simple form and cut, and most probably constitute types of early dress development. This is perhaps also true of sandals of the *imerkeden* type, and perhaps even of skin stockings. If this be so it is very remarkable that we find among the Tuareg a poncho shirt of very primitive cut together with sandals and stockings, for we know from Hatt's brilliant analysis of arctic dress development that the oldest complex of skin garments in Arctic Eurasia and America – the so-called "Sandal System" – consists of (1) Clothing developed from the poncho type; (2) Breeches developed from leggings, in some cases probably from leggings combined with a triangular genital cloth; (3) Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandals (cf. Hatt 1914, p. 214 ff. 1934, p. 275 ff.).

I think that this brief description of Tuareg culture in the light of African culture complexes can adequately be concluded as follows:— Most of Baumann's cultural groupings have little value for an analysis of the historical development of Tuareg culture. His classifications are often too vaguely defined, and he does not always substantiate his theories by archaeological facts. The so-called Old

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●/2/ Mediterranean and Young Sudanese Cultures seem to be cultural influences from distinct regions throughout extremely long periods.

The study of geographical distributions combined with archaeological investigations constitutes a highly important method for the reconstruction of cultural history. But cultural traits should also be studied structurally in great detail within limited areas, and one should take into account the native traditions concerning origin. I attempt to elucidate this in the following chapters on dwelling types, political systems, and social organization.

Tuareg Dwelling Types

There are many distinct dwelling types within the extended territory dominated by the Tuareg. The occurrence of all these types within this area definitely cannot be explained by mere reference to anthropo-geographical factors for they rather indicate that cultural influences from the outside have been numerous. 342* [121]

In this description of the dwelling types in the Tuareg country I consider it proper to open with various types of fixed or non-portable dwellings which are used mainly by sedentary people, though sometimes also by pastoralists. In another section of this chapter I describe the true portable dwellings of the pastoral Tuareg.

A. NON-PORTABLE DWELLINGS

There seem to be nine main types, namely the following:—

A.1. Square or rectangular houses built of mud.
A.2. Square or rectangular houses built of mud and stone.
A.3. Square or rectangular houses built of stone.
A.4. Subterranean or semi-subterranean houses.
A.5. Square or rectangular huts (houses) covered with plant material.
A.6. Round houses with a conical roof.
A.7. Conical huts.
A.8. Beehive huts.
A.9. Barrel-vaulted huts.

Within these main groups there are certain sub-types. The way the non-portable dwellings have been listed does not indicate any evolutionary tie between them for there can be little doubt that most types within Tuareg country have their own history.

A.1. *Square or rectangular houses built of mud.*

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Houses of this type have an extremely large distribution in Northern Africa. They are found in most oases of the Sahara, and are common in the large Sudanese towns or cities including Agadez. They are also found north of the true desert country. I have seen them up to the foot of the Tell Atlas around Boghari, where they frequently have saddle roofs which was the case also with certain

[text continues on p. 329]

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to have suggested a direct historical relationship between the cylindrical dwellings of Morocco and those occurring further east in the Atlas. But it seems to be a fact that this dwelling type has been introduced fairly recently into Morocco, while in the Eastern Atlas and adjacent regions it dates very far back in time. Distributional studies of dwelling types should consider their structural features. Identical outer forms showing continuous distribution do not necessarily have the same historical origin.

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A.7. *Conical huts.*

They are very rare in Tuareg country where I have never seen them. They are mentioned by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek* among whom they are used by semi-sedentary slaves (Nicolas 1938, p. 62 ff. & 1950a, p. 156 f.). Huts of this type seem to be common further east in the Sudan around Lake Tchad (cf. Foureau 1905, III, p. 963, 984).

342* [171]

A.8. *Beehive huts.*

Conical huts and beehive huts are believed to be among the oldest types of huts known to mankind (cf. Birket-Smith 1948, p. 311 f.). This is a reasonable hypothesis because such dwellings are typical of many primitive peoples with a mixed hunting and collecting economy. It is also evident that these dwelling types are often very plain in their structure. There is a resemblance between beehive huts and so-called barrel-vaulted huts, and many authors have grouped these dwellings together under the designation of "dome-shaped huts". As I attach a great value to a classification of traits based on detailed analysis of structure, I distinguish between beehive huts and barrel-vaulted huts.

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Though beehive huts are typical of many peoples at a primitive economic stage they are nevertheless extremely common also at more developed cultural levels. I believe that the fact that true beehive huts are widely used among many agriculturists of Northern Africa, while they seem to be less common among pastoralists who tend to use barrel-vaulted huts or other dwelling types has tended to be lost sight of.

[171]

I have never seen true beehive huts in Northern Tuareg country, and they are not mentioned in literature from this part of the Sahara. However, in the collection of the Musée de l'homme a photograph (V. 31.1557.99), stated to be taken in an oasis of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, shows a beehive hut, or perhaps a barrel-vaulted hut.

342*

Beehive huts form the most important type of dwelling for the sedentary agriculturists of Ayr, and huts of beehive form are occasionally erected also by pastoralists. I have noted the following types of beehive structures among the *Kel Ayr*:—

A.8.a. A very simple beehive hut known to the Tuareg as *ajram*. The structure consists of slender boughs (*imesekten*; no singular form) which are fixed in the ground, bent against each other, and attached each to each at their tops. This simple structure is covered with bunches of straw of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) fastened to the skeleton of bent boughs by means of cords. Such huts are not used in ordinary camps of the pastoral *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who make these simple dwellings for temporary use. Herdsmen, for instance, build them when herding camels or flocks away from the

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B. PORTABLE DWELLINGS

*342 Portable dwellings represent a great diversity of types among pastoral Tuareg. I speak of all these dwellings as "tents". For practical reasons I distinguish between "mat tents" and "skin tents", and to make it easy to refer to definite types I give them particular numbers. I believe that most portable [12] dwellings of the Tuareg *are* historically related to each other and the problem of historical development is considered later in this chapter.

B.1. *Mat Tents*

285 *342 Mat coverings are nowadays used only in Southern Tuareg groups, but they were formerly known also to the Northern Tuareg, for Duveyrier states that the Northern Tuareg may use for their tents a covering *éhen* "en tissu de chaume" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403).

Tent mats are of two different types, the more common one being that made from dum palm leaves plaited into long narrow bands which are sewn together with strips of the same material by means of a large needle (cf. Fig. 220b). Mats of this type are collectively known as *asala* (pl. *isalan*). The innermost mats which cover the upper part of the tent among the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*, among whom dum palm mats always form the main covering, are made from pieces of straw or similar material which are not plaited, but are attached horizontally to one another by means of thread in much the same way as the mats described p. 269, that is like mats of the *éseber* type. Where dum palm material is not available the tents may be covered exclusively with mats manufactured in this way, and a tent of this kind may then be referred to as *éwerwer* (pl. *iwerweren*), the word used for tent mats of this type. The *éwerwer* type of mat tents is described from the *Kel Dennek* country (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f., Fig. 31a–d), and it seems as if tents exclusively covered with mats of *éwerwer* type also occur among the *Bélla* along the Niger (cf. Chudeau 1909, pl. XXXII & XXXIII p. 218).

*342 [14] My knowledge of Tuareg mat tents derives from my studies among the Ayr Tuareg, the Ahaggar Tuareg living in or close to the Ayr Massif, and the *Kel Geres*. Mat tents used among these Tuareg are largely identical, and the material I have collected in these Tuareg groups will now be presented:—

B.1.a. This is a mat tent like that generally used among the *Kel Ayr*. It has an elaborate structure:—

(1) Three wooden arches each consisting of two curved pieces of wood, lashed together when the tent is erected. These three arches are placed in the middle of the tent at right angles to its longitudinal direction. The two curved wooden pieces which together constitute an arch are not of equal length. The arch piece which is fixed in the soil at the frontal side is very long, while the other curved piece attached to it and buried in the ground at the back is shorter. The short curved arch-pieces of all three arches are known as *ineggebela* (sing. *aneggebalu*), while the three long wooden arch-pieces to which they are attached have different names. The curved frontal piece of the middle arch, higher than the two outer arches, is called *tekkekkewat* (pl. *tekkekkewatin*). The frontal arch-pieces of the two outer and lower arches are known as *t'ilisawin* (sing. *t'ilisawt*). These latter names are also used to designate the erected arches made from the arched pieces lashed together, so that the central arch is referred to as *tekkekkewat*, while the two lower arches are called *t'ilisawin*. – The curved pieces

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THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*, and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

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Bedouin MJ4

Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

T 121

The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Nail*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayuk*. *Sayuk* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

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585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to release nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community.
121 Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amṛar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidà*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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who very early came under Islamic influence, and it is possible that these noble tribes introduced cultural traits typical of the Arabs.

(4) The Roman occupation of North Africa. The ancestors of certain Tuareg had some contact with the Romans who also penetrated into the northern parts of the present Tuareg country. But the Tuareg seem to have adopted very few culture elements from the Romans. The Tuareg were apparently never Christians.

(5) The Phoenicians. They introduced new cultural traits to North Africa but it seems difficult to sort out in present Tuareg culture those that were introduced by the Phoenicians.

Further back in time we cannot know much about cultural influences. We know that the horse was introduced during a period when the Northern Sahara was strongly influenced by high cultures of the Mediterranean, and we can safely assume that throughout a very long period of the pre-Christian era, when the Sahara had a more humid climate, cultures based on farming and stock-breeding played an important part in these regions. Rock-engravings representing hunting scenes prove that hunting was also once very important for the subsistence of people of these regions.

Our knowledge is yet very scarce of the cultures existing in the Sahara in prehistoric times. Nevertheless, I wish to take up in brief the question of the origin of nomadic stock-breeding in the light of Tuareg culture.

Anthropologists have held very different views about the first origin of domestic animals. The theory that stock-breeding originated within a true hunting culture gained many adherents after Hatt had advanced the theory that the reindeer was first domesticated for decoy hunting (cf. Hatt 1918 & 1919). Since then, many German and Austrian scholars have claimed not only that stock-breeding derived from hunting, but also that the first animal to be domesticated was the reindeer so that the stock-breeding based on horses and cattle in Central Asia came later and had reindeer-breeding as its foundation (cf. Schmidt & Koppers 1924; Schmidt 1951; Flor 1930). It seems as though such extreme viewpoints have now been discarded by most students and even Austrian and German scholars have in recent times dissociated themselves from the theories which were advanced mainly on Schmidt's initiative (cf. Jettmar 1953). There can be little doubt that reindeer-breeding is a fairly recent type of stock-breeding. This was explicitly stated already by Hatt, and though certain scholars even to-day claim that reindeer-breeding reaches back to Mesolithic, or even Paleolithic, times, their arguments cannot be accepted (cf. Nellemann 1961).

Though Hatt never claimed any great age for reindeer-breeding, he believed in an intimate connection between stock-breeding and hunting. In his latest study on the origin of primitive subsistence activities he stated that "It does not seem unlikely that the first domestication of ungulate animals was done by hunters who used their tame animals as decoys in the hunt, and later on developed the use of animals for transport and for dairy purposes, originally without any influence from agriculture" (Hatt 1953, p. 278). Among anthropologists who have recently supported the theory that stock-breeding and hunting are intimately connected activities of subsistence, we should also mention Coon who considers goats and sheep among the oldest domestic animals which were domesticated by hunters even before the cultivation of cereals (Coon 1952, p. 24). However, there are many scholars who do not accept the theory that cultures based on stock-breeding derive from hunting cultures.

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Hahn, who was the first to write in detail on the historical origin of subsistence activities, stated as his view that cultures based exclusively on stock-breeding were recent and were preceded by mixed farming cultures (Hahn 1896, p. 31 f.; 1905, p. 131; 1908, p. 19). Though some of Hahn's arguments in favour of this theoretical conception are difficult to accept, his general view that pure stock-breeding did not form a general stage in the evolution of culture is recognized by many scholars who hold that cultivation is everywhere older than stock-breeding. Forde long ago pointed out the great instability of pastoralism and its dependence upon grown cereals (Forde 1950 (1. ed. 1934), p. 403 f.), and in a very recent study, published in collaboration with Mary Douglas, it is stated that "Pastoral nomadism which is popularly believed to have preceded the development of agriculture actually appeared at a later stage in the Old World on the fringes of settled populations used to cultivation with the rearing of livestock" (Forde 1960, p. 330). Important contributions to the solution of the problem of the origin of stock-breeding have also been made by Childe, who says that in practically all the oldest food-producing settlements examined by archaeologists in Europe, Hither Asia, and North Africa, the basic industry is mixed farming (Childe 1936, p. 85). Childe does not explicitly claim that pastoral stock-breeding derived from a mixed farming culture, because pastoralists are not likely to leave many vestiges by which the archaeologists can recognize their presence (Childe 1936, p. 91). But Childe's general view seems to be in favour of origin of pastoral stock-breeding from a culture which knew farming, and he points out "that ancestors of our farmyard animals lived wild in most of the regions that seem likely to have comprised the cradle of grain-growing" (Childe 1936, p. 86).

In my description of Tuareg ecology I have indicated the great importance of agricultural products for food among true pastoralists, both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. I believe that the latter Tuareg and the Tuareg of the Sudanese savannah could perhaps subsists without cereals grown by agriculturists, though it would not be so easy for them. The Ayr Tuareg around Agadez admit this and refer to their great difficulties in subsisting during one year of the second world war when millet was scarce. Most African pastoralists acquire provisions of cultivated grain for their food during periods when milk is scarce, and the general conception that African nomads live mainly on milk and meat is not valid. However, we cannot state that all pastoralists are dependent on agriculture for food, for a few people seem to subsist on stock-breeding products and on wild seeds. Thus Seligman describes from the Beja a tribe named Bedawib which differs from other Beja groups in that its members have no camels and do not eat agricultural food:— "The Bedawib do not cultivate at all and it is said that they would not touch grain even if it were given to them so that they live almost entirely on milk and meat". (Seligman 1913, p. 599 f.). Other pastoralists of the so-called East African Cattle Complex eat cereals grown by themselves or by neighbouring agriculturists, but agricultural food-products play a very little part to some of these people (cf. Lowie 1938, p. 314), and the Hottentots live by cattle-breeding supplemented by hunting and collecting (cf. Schapera 1930, p. 235). The argument that stock-breeding cultures cannot exists except in a kind of symbiosis with agriculture is not valid, but agricultural food-products make life easier for pastoralists who cannot subsist on milk all the year round. For we must bear in mind that in an arid or semi-arid country conditions of collecting are changeable, and it is also important to note that wild seeds are generally far less nourishing than are grown cereals. Even in the savannah country it is a great advantage for pastoralists to have access to grown cereals, and

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methods and domestication, the first domestic animals may of course well have been tamed in a culture which already knew of farming. It seems to me that, generally speaking, the theory of a development of stock-breeding within a farming culture is the most plausible one.

At the time when the noble Tuareg introduced the camel the North African pastoralists were apparently mainly goat-breeders who also had sheep of the *Ovis longipes* type, and donkeys. Tuareg traditions state that the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar, the *Isebeten*, were not only goat-breeders but also hunters, and a tradition collected by Foucauld states that they also knew agriculture (cf. p. 408). This may perhaps be so, though most Tuareg seem to deny it. A tradition of hunting as an important means of subsistence to the ancestors of vassal Tuareg accords well with the fact that important traits of a hunting culture appear to exist among the Tuareg; how can this be explained when we also claim that stock-breeding apparently developed from a mixed farming culture? I believe the most plausible explanation to be that the ancestors of Tuareg vassals first lived in the northern Sahara as roaming hunters. At a later date they were strongly influenced by a mixed-farming culture from which they adopted a primitive type of agriculture and stock-breeding. But stock-breeding came to play the largest rôle for them, partly because it was better fitted to environment, and partly because it was adapted to the roaming life of hunters.

It is most unfortunate that archaeology is so little advanced in the Central Sahara. Most archaeologists have been occupied with the study of rock-engravings. These are important to our knowledge of cultural history, but they cannot be precisely dated. Apart from the study of engravings, investigations have mainly concentrated upon tombs and other stone monuments, and these investigations do not help us much to understand the development of subsistence activities in the Sahara. However, we may ascribe some importance to the study of stone tombs of the so-called *chouchet* type. This, it is claimed by the ancient vassals of Ahaggar, constituted the traditional tomb of pre-Islamic Tuareg, and the tomb in which their ancestress *Takama* is said to have been buried is of *chouchet* type. Such tombs in Ahaggar seem to be found mainly close to river valleys that are flooded relatively frequently and generally are also close to modern cultivation centres (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 83). These tombs have been used among the Tuareg even after their Islamization (cf. Monod 1932, p. 34; Reygasse 1950, p. 39) but it is unknown when they were introduced into the Sahara. However, tombs of *chouchet* type are not only found in large parts of Tuareg country (Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, In Azawa, Northern Ayr, around Zinder, between Zinder and the Niger at Adrar of Tawa, Adrar of the Iforas), but also in the adjacent regions of Mauretania, Tibesti, and Bornu, which is their southern limit of distribution (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 40; Lhote 1955a, p. 83; Mauny 1961, p. 76 f.). Types of *chouchet* tombs occur in Algeria north of Hodna and in Aurès (cf. Reygasse 1950, p. 8) and perhaps also in the Canary Islands (cf. Wölfel 1950, p. 248). Thus the possibility cannot be excluded that the former existence of such tombs in Tuareg culture may be due to some connection with mixed farmers of the Mediterranean at an early, but unfortunately yet unknown, date.

A last problem to be touched upon is the generally accepted view that nomadic stock-breeding is intimately connected with a patrilineal social system. This view has been emphasized in particular by the so-called Vienna School of ethnology under the leadership of Schmidt and Koppers, who speak about "Der viehzüchterische Nomadismus als Schöpfer der patriarchalen Systems und des Erst-

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Fig. 298. Circular tomb of the so-called "chouchet" type. Ahaggar, Tamanrasset.

121 geborenenrechtes" (Schmidt & Koppers 1924, p. 537). I have stated above (p. 447) that there is not necessarily any connection between particular types of industry and particular types of social organization in North Africa. There are many examples of this in all continents where primitive peoples live. Whether there is historically any connection between patrilineal systems and pastoral stock-breeding
174 cannot be known. It is true that a great many pastoralists are pronounced patrilineal, but there is no doubt that certain pastoralists have adopted true patrilineal systems after their conversion to Islam. We have seen that this holds good for most Southern Tuareg, and it seems to be true also of the Beja pastoralists of Northeast Africa. They are to-day patrilineal, but formerly they were partly or entirely matrilineal, for Maqrizi states that among them a sister's son or a daughter's son possessed inheritance rights (Maqrizi, p. 561). We do not know whether other pastoralists have had matrilineal traits of social organization. Robertson Smith tried to prove that the Ancient Semites had previously been matrilineal (Robertson Smith 1907, p. 29 ff.), but his arguments have not been accepted by later authorities (cf. Pedersen 1958, p. 394). However, we cannot entirely discard the possibility that a kind of matrilineal social organization has formerly existed among pastoralists other than the Tuareg and the Beja, and this would apparently agree with the theory here accepted – that stock-breeding originated within a culture which knew farming, for matrilineal traits are frequently associated with primitive farming cultures. At all events I do not believe that matrilineal traits are to be considered recent among the Tuareg and the Beja, nor do I believe that these peoples were once patrilineal and that they adopted matrilineal affiliation owing to contact with other cultures, for we know that a true patrilineal system does not easily change into a matrilineal one (Murdock 1949, p. 190).

121 This theory is partly based upon the fact that transition from patrilineal to matrilineal systems cannot be shown to have occurred, partly upon the functional argument that matrilineal systems are not always stable because matrilineal rules frequently conflict with paternal love for sons. These conflicts of matrilineal systems have been described in great detail from Melanesia by Malinowski (Malinowski

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1926, p. 100 ff.), and they have been studied later within the same area by other anthropologists (cf. Schlesier 1956, p. 54 ff.). It is my impression that they are comparatively rare among the Tuareg because their social systems have mechanisms which serve to prevent conflicts: The system of cross-cousin marriage in connection with rules of joking, avoidance, and those which permit a man to take domestic animals not only from his father but also from his mother's brothers would seem to lessen conflicts which are latent in other matrilineal systems.

Functional studies would seem to constitute an important means to explain the historical development of social organization, but the functional method alone cannot help us, for it is evident that diffusion also plays a considerable part in the change of social systems as has been shown in this study of the Tuareg. Anthropology is not science in the ordinary sense of the word. People do not behave according to such fixed rules as those we call "natural laws". They have rules but these are not always followed very strictly, and I have shown above that social rules can change owing to diffusion and the adoption of new social traits. So-called primitive peoples do not always live in the functional world of modern anthropology, but they always live in a world of change and tradition. It is possible that the Northern Tuareg for centuries have practised marriages with a maternal cousin, though this type of marriage disagrees with their social system which favours cross-cousin marriage. As to the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg, we know that some of them adopted patrilineal succession owing to contact with the Arabs more than two hundred years ago. Nevertheless, these Tuareg have not adopted the entire social system of the Arabs, and even to-day there are matrilineal traits among them.

Tuareg culture cannot be understood by a mere functional analysis, for its creation is due to diffusion of traits from other cultures, and this seems to hold for all cultural aspects, including political systems and social organization. Consequently, I have tried to understand cultural development in the light of the methods of both functional and historical anthropology.

I hope that this study on Tuareg culture may be considered a contribution towards a more realistic historical method, and trust that my work may be of some value to others who take up the great problems connected with the history of North African culture. It may well be that some of the theories I have advanced or intimated will not survive when our knowledge of the Tuareg and North African cultures is increased, but I believe that a study of cultural development within limited areas will enable a far more realistic and detailed picture of cultural history to be created than has so far been the case.